

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 070752

O P 071725Z FEB 75
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9982
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY

S E C R E T USNATO 0670

EXDIS

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR: U.S. PROPOSAL ON AIR MANPOWER

REF: A. MBFR VIENNA 29
B. MBFR VIENNA 33
C. USNATO 631

1. MISSION CONSIDERS THAT VIENNA'S PROPOSED MODIFICATION
(REFS A AND B)OF THE U.S. PROPOSAL ON AIR MANPOWER WOULD
MAKE THAT PROPOSAL MORE SALEABLE WITH THE ALLIES.

2. MISSION BELIEVES THAT THE MAIN ADVANTAGE OF VIENNA'S MODIFICATION
WITH THE ALLIES IS ITS IMPACT ON THE PRECEDENT ISSUE. THAT ISSUE
IS LARGELY AN FRG CONCERN. FRG CONTINUES TO SEE
A PRECEDENT IN THE U.S. PROPOSAL, FROM TWO STANDPOINTS: FIRST,
U.S. ANDSOVIET AIR MANPOWER REDUCTIONS IN PHASE I WOULD LEAD TO
(NON-VOLUNATRY) INCLUSION OF EUROPEAN AIR MANPOWER IN PAHSE II
REDUCTIONS; AND SECOND, THAT REDUCTION OF EUROPEAN AIR MAPOWER
IN PHASE II WOULD BE BY UP TO 15 PERCENT. THE VIENNA PROPOSAL
COULD HELP MEET THE FRG CONCERN FROM THE FIRST STANDPOINT, IN
THAT THE VIENNA PROPOSAL OFFERS TO THE EAST VOLUNTARY REPEAT
VOLUNTARY AIR MANPOWER REDUCTION IN PHASE II,AND PROVIDES SOME
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DETAIL IN DOING SO (SEE PARA 3, REF C). HOWEVER, EVEN IF THE
VIENNA PROPOSAL DOES NOT MEET FRG CONCERN FROM THE FIRST STAND-
POINT, AND THE FRG REMAINS CONVINCED THAT A PRECEDENT FOR INCLUSION
OF EUROPEAN AIR MANPOWER IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS IS ESTABLISHED,

THE PRECEDENT THAT NO MORE THAN 10 PERCENT OF FRG PAHSE II REDUCTIONS BE IN AIR MANPOWER WOULD CUT MUCH LESS DEEPLY THAN A PRECEDENT FOR A 15 PERCENT REDUCTION OF FRG OR NON-US ALLIED AIR MANPOWER.

3. ANOTHER ADVANTAGE OF THE VIENNA MODIFICATION IS THAT IT WOULD MEET THE CONCERN OF SOME ALLIES THAT THE U.S. COULD NOT TAKE PHASE I AIR MANPOWER REDUCTIONS OF UP TO 15 PERCENT WITHOUT REDUCING COMBAT CAPABILITY. THE GREATER NEGOTIABILITY OF THE VIENNA MODIFICATION MAY HELP MEET A UK CONCERN. THEY EXPRESSED CONCERN EARLY IN THE SPC DISCUSSION ABOUT THE NEGOTIABILITY OF A PROPOSAL WHICH REQUIRED FEWER ALLIED REDUCTIONS AND MORE PACT REDUCTIONS THAN THE ORIGINAL ALLIED PROPOSAL.

4. THE MAIN ALLIED QUESTION CONCERNING THE VIENNA PROPOSAL WOULD BE ITS EFFECT ON WITHDRAWAL OF A TANK ARMY IN PHASE I. THE U.S. WOULD NEED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE PROPOSAL IS COMPATIBLE WITH THAT ALLIED PHASE I OBJECTIVE, EVEN THOUGH SOVIET PHASE I GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS WOULD AMOUNT TO A MINIMUM OF ABOUT 61,000, INSTEAD OF THE FIGURE OF "ABOUT 68,000" ORIGINALLY ENVISAGED. THE ALLIES WOULD ALSO QUESTION THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE VIENNA PROPOSAL MAINTAINS THE FOCUS ON GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS. THE U.S. WOULD HAVE A STRONG ARGUMENT IN THE RELATIVELY SMALL AMOUNT OF AIR MANPOWER REDUCTIONS. HOWEVER, SOME ALLIES MIGHT SEE STRONGER ARGUMENT IS DEFENSE OF THE GROUND FORCE FOCUS IN THE PRESENT U.S. PROPOSAL, I.E. THAT IT WOULD REQUIRE AT LEAST THE 68,000 SOVIET GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS ORIGINALLY ENVISAGED AND POSSIBLY MORE.

5. MISSION RECOMMENDS THAT , IF WASHINGTON DECIDES IN FAVOR OF THE VIENNA MODIFICATION, THE U.S. PRESENT IT AS AN EFFORT TO MEET ALLIED CONCERNS, AND WORK FOR EARLY AGREEMENT ON IT, WITHOUT WITHDRAWING THE PRESENT U.S. PROPOSAL. THIS WOULD GIVE US AN OPPORTUNITY TO ASSESS ALLIED REACTION TO THE NEW PROPOSAL WITHOUT FORECLOSING OPTION OF MOVING AHEAD WITH THE PRESENT PROPOSAL IF, CONTRARY TO OUR EXPECTATION, THE ALLIES PREFER IT TO THE VIENNA
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MODIFICATION. IN ANY EVENT, PRESENT U.S. PROPOSAL, WHICH IS NOW SUPPORTED BY DUTCH, WILL REMAIN BEFORE THE SPC, AS HAS EARLIER U.S. PROPOSAL ON INCLUSION OF AIR MANPOWER IN THE COMMON CEILING WITHOUT REDUCTIONS WHICH IS NOW SUPPORTED BY FRG.

6. MISSION ALSO RECOMMENDS THAT WASHINGTON COME TO AN EARLY DECISION ON THE VIENNA MODIFICATION. IF WASHINGTON SHOULD DECIDE TO PROPOSE IT IN NATO, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO DO SO BEFORE WORK IN NATO AND IN ALLIED CAPITALS ON PRESENT U.S. PROPOSAL PROGRESSES FURTHER.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 FEB 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO00670
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750286/abbrzibi.tel
Line Count: 109
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS NOFORN
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS NOFORN
Reference: A. MBFR VIENNA 29 B. MBFR VIENNA 33 C. USNATO 631
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 MAR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31 MAR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <02 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: U.S. PROPOSAL ON AIR MANPOWER
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE INFO BONN
LONDON
MBFR VIENNA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006